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ABSTRACT

Utilizing data derived from 1,602 Appalachian high school seniors from West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky and 1,192 seniors from a commercial farm area in Central Kentucky and an industrialized area in Western Kentucky, the interrelated influences of regional circumstances, local community context, and family socioeconomic background on career selection were analyzed. Dividing the main problematic variable, "career plan", into "educational plan" and "migration plan", an attempt was made to delimit the nature and scope of a youngster's occupational options and life chances. Socioeconomic background was measured in terms of non-manual, manual, and farmer or coal miner categories for the non-mining and the mining regions respectively. Results indicated: Appalachian seniors from blue-collar or farm families had significantly limited access to both the material and non-material resources that facilitate educational achievement; lower class Appalachian girls perceived themselves as having even less of a chance at rewarding careers and/or self-fulfilling life styles than lower class boys; the distribution and allocation of occupational opportunities were linked to a young person's position in the regional social system in both regions (e.g., upper class males living in rural sectors of the coal mining region were less apt to migrate than their subsistance farming counterparts). (JC)

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CAREER PLANS AND REGIONAL CONTEXT:

A STUDY OF RURAL YOUTH IN TWO APPALACHIAN SETTINGS

by
Thomas A. Lyson*

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*Department of Sociology, Michigan State University. Material for this report was drawn, in part, from the author's dissertation at Michigan State University. The original data were collected under the supervision of Harry K. Shcwarzweller while he was a member of the Sociology faculties at the University of Kentucky and West Virginia University and James S. Brown of the Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky. The author acknowledges the assistance of members of the Sociology Departments at the University of Kentucky and West Virginia University and the University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station. Special appreciation is expressed to Mrs. Cornelia Morgan, University of Kentucky for her assistance in helping to prepare the data for analysis and to Professor Harry K. Schwarzweller, Michigan State University and Donald W. Bogie, Auburn University--Montgomery, and to James S. Brown and A. Lee Coleman, University of Kentucky for their helpful suggestions and criticism on earlier drafts of this report.

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CAREER PLANS AND REGIONAL CONTEXT: A STUDY OF RURAL YOUTH IN TWO APPALACHIAN SETTINGS

by
Thomas A. Lyson

Appalachia, long characterized as a geographically and economically isolated rural area, cannot, from a sociological standpoint, be considered an internally uniform or homogeneous region. Variations in occupational structures, residential patterns, and normative climates, for example, characterize and help to define the boundaries of regional sub-systems within the larger context of Appalachian society. According to Brown:

> . . .one should understand that the Appalachian region is not a region in the sense of having people of uniform and homogeneous social and cultural characteristics. Nor is it a "region" in the sense that the various parts of it function together as a unit or as a system with interdependent functional aspects. (Brown 1970: 26)

Thus, for example, not only may patterns of social and economic organization differ between the Eastern Kentucky Coal area (State Economic Area 9) and the Eastern Kentucky subsistence farming region (State Economic Area 8), but, because of differences in the socioeconomic environment, the residents of these two areas may also hold somewhat different attitudes, values and life-style characteristics.

Furthermore, as Julian Steward (1955) and others noted, it would be far-fetched to imagine that all persons share the same behavior patterns even in the most homegeneous area. "Community level" characteristics also have been shown to influence an individual's value orientations, life-style preferences, and world views.[1] One would certainly expect to find differences in behavior, for example, between people living and working in the larger cities and towns of the Appalachian region and those residing in the more remote and isolated mountain hollows and subsistence farming neighborhoods. In short, regional setting and local community context are indicative of particular institutional configurations, normative climates, and opportunity structures, and as such define a set of parameters that help shape and guide social behavior.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Using data drawn from a coal mining area and a subsistence farming area within Appalachia and, for comparative purposes, drawing upon comparable data from non-Appalachian regions, the research reported here focusses on the interrelationship of regional socioeconomic contexts and the manner

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1. See for example: John D. Photiadis, "Rural Southern Appalachia and Mass Society," in Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action Programs, John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller (eds.), University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970, pp. 5-22.

by which young people are sorted-out for career roles in the larger society.[2] Our thesis holds that the nature and range of occupational and educational opportunities available and accessible in a "region" (i.e., the socioeconomic character of a region) affect the patterning of career development and, therefore, should be taken into account in the specification and elaboration of career planning models, and, subsequently, in the strategy of counselling students in this or that region. "Regional opportunity structures," from this perspective, are viewed as unique configurations of macro-structural circumstances that may combine with, or reinforce, the effects of lower-level contextual variables such as neighborhood or community of residence effects or specified career determinants such as social class origin, academic performance in school and sex.[3]

Coal mining and subsistence farming are distinctive socioeconomic enterprises in Appalachia, and, as such, typify somewhat different socialenvironmental settings. Thus, we may expect that the styles of ambition and career goal-setting among young people in each of these regions will be shaped and molded by somewhat different situational exigencies and socioeconomic opportunities. Although the socioeconomic character and the structuring of opportunities in a region may serve to delimit or enhance a young person's life chances and eventual career achievements, the influence of the larger regional environment is, of course, tempered and interpreted by the expectation patterns and normative orientations unique to a youngster's immediate family and school situation. Given that no region is completely homogeneous with respect to social and economic composition, variations in background characteristics at the local or personal level may alter the manner in which young people perceive and react to the regional opportunity structure. For example, a youngster reared in the coal region of Appalachia may view his life chances and approach critical decision making points from a somewhat different perspective than one reared in a different regional environment (e.g., the subsistence farming/non-coal area of Appalachia).

The purpose of this report, then, is to examine the interrelated influences of regional circumstances, local community context, and family socioeconomic background on the manner by which Appalachian youth are selected for career roles. Sex and academic performance in school will be introduced as variables that also have been shown to structure a youth's life chances and as such can

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2. This builds on research undertaken by Donald W. Bogie in 1970. See: Donald W. Bogie, The Occupational and Educational Aspiriations and Plans of Rural Kentucky High School Seniors, RS50, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington and Donald W. Bogie, "Socio-cultural Differences Among Three Areas in Kentucky as Determinants of Educational and Occupational Aspriations and Expectations of Rural Youths," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky, 1970.

3. For a more detailed description of the concepts of region and regionalism as they relate to "opportunity structures" see: Thomas A. Lyson, "Regional Variations in the Structuring of Educational and Migrational Plans of Rural Youth," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1976.

be conceived as indicative or predictive of a young person's relative opportunity for upward career mobility. Although our main interest lies in only two of the probably many identifiable areas of Appalachia - here a predominatly coal-mining sub-region and a predominatly subsistence farming sub-region-we will also examine data from a commercial agricultural area in Central Kentucky and a semi-rural industrialized area in Western Kentucky to better illustrate and understand the structural mechanisms in the career-planning process.

THE RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES

One part of a larger cross-cultural project, the study population consists of 1602 Appalachian high school seniors from West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky and, for comparative purposes, 1192 seniors from Central and Western Kentucky.[4] Data were obtained in 1968 and 1970 through self-administered questionnaires in 26 schools in these areas (Table 1). A more detailed description of the study populations follows.

Choosing a career is not an event that occurs at one point in time. Rather, it is best viewed as a series of decisions made over a long period of time which lead up to and, in a sense, "predict" an individual's ultimate occupational choice. Two of the more important decisions that occur before a person chooses an occupation concern plans for further academic training subsequent to high school and plans to leave or not leave the home area in search of more favorable occupational opportunities. These two career decisions-here referred to as "educational plans" and "migration plans"-form an interactive typology that helps delimit the nature and scope of a youngster's occupational options and ultimately his life chances.

In this research, "career plan" is the main problematic variable. It will be divided into "educational plan" and "migration plan." Educational plans are classified in terms of planning to go to college or planning to terminate formal schooling after high school. Migration plans refer to a young person's expectations about relocating outside the region of his present residence (i.e., Eastern Kentucky, Central Kentucky, etc.)--presumably in an area perceived as having more favorable employment opportunities.

A young person's socioeconomic background is measured here by the father's occupational status. In the two intra-Appalachian areas a modified three-category Edwards (1943) occupational status scale is employed. In the non-mining, subsistence farming area the categories are (1) nonmanual (i.e., professional and white collar); (2) manual (nonfarm, skilled and semi-skilled workers); and (3) farmer (i.e., full-and part-time farmers). In the coal-

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4. This cross-cultural project is headed by Harry K. Schwarzweller. In addition to the United States, data on career plans and value orientations of rural youth were collected in three regions of Norwary and three regions of Germany.

Table 1. - THE STUDY POPULATIONS COMPARED.

Area	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Year	Principal Investigators
Western Kentucky (Daviess and Henderson Counties)	(575)	2	1968	Donald W. Bogie and Harry K. Schwarzweller (University of Kentucky/Agricultural Experiment Station)
Central Kentucky (Anderson, Clark, Jessamine and Scott Counties)	(517)	5	1968	Donald W. Bogie and Harry K. Schwarzweller (University of Kentucky/Agricultural Experiment Station)
Eastern Kentucky/ Non-mining Area (Breathitt, Lee, Menifee, Owsley, Powell, Magoffin, Elliot and Wolfe Counties)	(643)	8	1968	Donald W. Bogie and Harry K. Schwarzweller (University of Kentucky/Agricultural Experiment Station)
Eastern Kentucky/ Mining Area (Floyd, Pike, and Leslie Counties)	(481)	5	1970	Donald W. Bogie and James Brown (University of Kentucky/Agricultural Experiment Station)
West Virginia/ Coal Mining Area (Mingo County)	(478)	6	1970	John Marra and Harry K. Schwarzweller (West Virginia University/Department of Sociology)

mining area, because the occupational composition of the lower end of the occupational hierarchy is different from that in the non-coal area, the categories are (1) nonmanual; (2) manual (i.e., farmer and non-coal-related blue collar occupations); and (3) coal miner (i.e., all blue-collar coal mining employees). It should be noted that the relationships between farmer and manual worker in the subsistence farming area and between coal miner and non-coal manual worker in the coal areas are nominal - that is, there is no necessary implication of one being higher or lower than the other.

Academic performance in school (upper half/lower half), local residence place (open country-farm/town-city) and sex are introduced to elaborate the search for regional effects.

THE REGIONS STUDIED

To form a basis for later statements concerning the allocation and structuring of career opportunities among different regionally and occupationally defined segments of the study population, it is necessary to de-

lineate and compare the regional entities drawn into this inquiry. "Region" (or sub-region) may be viewed as a geographically bounded social system, larger than a community and distinguishable from other regional social systems in terms of the manner in which sets of career-planning variables assume different patterns of interrelationship and consequently form unique structural/ecological configurations. For our purposes, a group of counties sharing similar structural/ecological configurations can be considered indicative or representative of a regional modality or setting.

Tables 2 and 3 give some indication of the social and economic characteristics of the regions or subregions surveyed here. These data, derived from the U.S. Census (Table 2), information collected from the high school seniors themselves (Table 3), and material from other sources can be used to describe the situational circumstances confronting young people at the point when their educational and migration plans are being crystallized.

Appalachain Non-Coal/Subsistence Farming Area

Eight Eastern Kentucky counties (Breathitt,[5] Lee, Menifee, Owsley, Powell, Magoffin, Elliot and Wolfe) represent the non-coal, subsistence farming region of Appalachia. All of these counties, with the exception of Breathitt, are located in State Economic Area 8 (Eastern Kentucky Hills Area). The economy of this Appalachian region, in the past especially and to a large extent even today, is based upon non-commercial agriculture. More than half (55.5%) of the high school seniors in this area indicated that they lived on farms, contrasted with 37.3% in Central Kentucky, 27.0% in Western Kentucky, and 2.9% in the Appalachian coal area. Furthermore, many of these Eastern Kentucky farms families have little non-farm earned income, owing to lack of industrial development in the area.

In addition to being a marginal agricultural area, this area of Appalachia is often described as having a "familistic" social organization. For example:

> A crucial aspect of the eastern Kentucky situation, confronting any student of this Appalachian mountain area, is the importance attached to kin relationships in the everyday life of its people. Familism, as a value orientation, tends to permeate the local society and stamps all institutions with its mark. (Schwarzweller, Brown, Mangalam, 1971: 85)

The median family income ($3,693 in 1970) and the percentage of the population living below the poverty level (47.8 in 1970) make this one of the poorest regions in America. Given the general economic conditions of the area and the limited opportunities for securing a "decent" job, it is not surprising to find that 67% of the senior boys and 77% of the senior girls say they plan to leave the region in the future. The socioeconomic character of the region is also reflected in the relatively small propor-

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5. Since this study was made, Breathitt County has become a major producer of coal, due to the current "boom" in coal mining.

Table 2. Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of the Study Regions, as Indicated by the Census of 1970

	Western Kentucky Heavily industrialized Daviess & Henderson counties*		Central Kentucky Four counties with commercial farming, diversified industry		Appalachian Mining Three Kentucky and one W. Virginia counties-little farming or manufacturing		Appalachian Farming Eight Kentucky counties with subsistence farming and little mining or industry	
Median Schooling Completed Age 25 and over	Males 11.3	Females 11.7	Males 9.6	Females 10.9	Males 8.3	Females 8,5	Males 8.0	Females 8.3
Percentage High School Graduates, Age 25 and over	45.9	48.7	38.5	42.9	21.8	24.3	18.0	18.6
Percentage of work force (Male+Female) Employed in:								
Agriculture	9.4		12.6		.6		9.4	
Mining	2.0		.3		29.1		5.7	
Manufacturing	30.7		26.0		6.1		15.4	
Percentage in Civilian Labor Force	77.8	41.0	76.4	40.9	61.9	21.8	50.0	20.5
Percent Unemployed	3.9	7.5	2.8	4.1	7.3	7.6	10.0	6.7
Median family Income ($)	8,370		7,815		5,071		3,693	
Percent Below Poverty	12.5		15.6		35.1		47.8	

*These census data are for the two counties as a whole, combined on a weighted basis. The youth survey included only students in the two county high schools, which serve mainly the areas outside the cities of Henderson and Owensboro.

Table 3. Percent of Survey Respondents Planning College and Percent Planning to Migrate In Each Study Region

	Western Kentucky		Central Kentucky		Appalachian Mining		Appalachian Farming	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Percent Planning College	56.4	51.3	43.3	37.7	36.0	40.9	33.5	37.8
Percent Planning to Migrate	50.0	52.7	52.9	57.1	57.0	63.0	66.5	76.9

tion of seniors, around a third, who intend to continue their formal education beyond the high school level. The economic resources of the area and the general sociocultural circumstances associated with a poverty area seem to mediate against upward educational mobility.

This part of Eastern Kentucky, then, can be described as having a relatively low standard of living, high umemployment and, in general, very limited opportunities for occupational and educational advancement. The opportunity structure is restricted and the social milieu in which plans are formed is depressed.

Appalachian Coal Area

The Appalachian coal-mining region is represented in this study by Floyd, Pike and Leslie Counties in Southeastern Kentucky and by Mingo County, across the Tug River in West Virginia. This is also a rural, low-income area. Its economic resources are based primarily on coal mining. Owing to the nature of coal mining as an occupation, the relatively standardized wage scale of miners, and the character of the mining community and way of life in the coal camps, the coal-mining area emerges as a somewhat unique entity, in many respects quite different from the adjacent subsistence farming area of Appalachia.

Union wage scales permit the coal miner when working regularly to live at an adequate, but not affluent, level. Blue-collar workers employed in other enterprises in this region have a varied living status. Many of these non-coal worker families, especially those living in the more remote rural hollows, survive on meager incomes supplemented by Social Security, food stamps or welfare payments. Those blue-collar workers living in or near the larger towns of the region, however, are more likely to have found higher paying jobs.

In general, the overall socioeconomic circumstances have a depressing effect on the educational chances and local work opportunities of young people: only about a third of the high school seniors plan formal education beyond high school, while more than 60% expect to leave the home area.

The coal-mining area of Appalachia, then, is in certain respects very similar to the Eastern Kentucky subsistence farming region. In 1970 both Appalachian regions were primarily rural, economically depressed,[6] and characterized by limited chances for upward educational mobility and high out-migration and projected out-migration rates. What distinguishes the coal area from the subsistence farming area, however, are the distinctive structural exigencies embodied in the regional economy. Life-style characteristics and residential patterns are dependent on the dominant mode of production and the viability of the regional economy.

Commercial Farming Region of Central Kentucky

The commercial agriculture-diversified industry area of Central Kentucky is represented in the study by Jessamine, Anderson, Clark, and Scott counties. These counties are heavily influenced by the growing metropolis of Lexington,

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6. At present the coal region is booming. In the past there has been a "boom and bust" cycle.

and three of the four are now in the Lexington Standard Metropolitan Area. Still, about 90% of the land is in farms, and these farms are larger, the soils more productive, and the topography more suitable for commercial farming than is the case in Eastern Kentucky. Bluegrass farms produce a diversity of products (e.g., tobacco, grain, milk, beef, horses) and are able to provide a stable and generally adequate income for their operators. Lexington and several smaller cities nearby provide a variety of occupational opportunities. Thus, the area is one of the more prosperous in the state and has a favorable opportunity structure. However, the four counties studied are on the fringe of the metropolitan area, while the two Western Kentucky counties, as we shall see, are more central in their metropolitan areas. About 53% of the boys and 57% of the girls in the Central Kentucky sample plan to migrate, and about 43% of the boys and 38% of the girls expect to go to college.

Industrialized Western Kentucky Region

Although Western Kentucky has been and still is largely agricultural, the adjoining Ohio River counties of Daviess and Henderson are now quite urbanized and industrialized, though they also remain important commercial farming counties. Daviess constitutes the Owensboro Metropolitan Area and Henderson is a part of the Evansville, Indiana, Metropolitan Area. Thus, the majority of the people are urban and employed in nonfarm work. Owensboro, the county seat of Daviess County, has a number of important industries, including manufacturers of radio parts, whiskey distillers, and a relatively large steel plant on the city's outskirts. In addition, there are tobacco manufacturers, steel fabricators, food processors, chemical plants, plastic manufacturers, and furniture-making concerns in the two counties.

The youth representing this region were enrolled in the two county high schools, serving mainly the suburban and open-county areas outside the city limits of Owensboro and Henderson. Because of this area's relative economic prosperity and the broad range of occupational opportunities for young people, it is not surprising that the youths' rate of planned out-migration is low compared with the other regions. A further reflection of the prosperous circumstances of the area is found in the number of seniors planning college: more than half of both the boys and girls plan to continue their formal education after high school.

FINDINGS

The influence of the father's occupational status, individually and in concert with scholastic performance and residence, on the educational and migration plans of high school seniors from the Appalachian coal and subsistence farming region will first be probed (Tables 4-8). This overview provides a basis for constructing a multivariate career plan configuration which then will be compared with similarly derived configurations for Central and Western Kentucky (Table 9).

College and Migration Plans

In both economically distinct sectors of Appalachia, seniors from upper-status homes are far more likely to plan on attending college than their lower-status counterparts (Table 4). Furthermore, within their respective

Table 4. Percentage of Appalachian Youth Planning to go to College and Percentage Planning to Migrate, by Father's Occupational Status, Region of Residence and Sex

	Subsistence Farming Region		Coal Mining Region	
Father's Occupational Status	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nonmanual (Professional/ white collar)				
Planning on College	63.4	55.3	60.2	63.2
Planning to Migrate	68.3	89.5	56.8	79.2
(N)	(41)	(38)	(87)	(106)
Manual (Blue Collar non coal/nonfarm)				
Planning on College	29.0	36.0	31.1	33.7
Planning to Migrate	67.7	72.1	60.7	69.4
(N)	(137)	(136)	(122)	(98)
Coal Miner (Coal-mining region only) or Farmer (Farming region only)				
Planning on College	30.4	38.7	31.7	28.2
Planning to Migrate	63.4	80.2	65.8	65.8
(N)	(112)	(106)	(202)	(202)

regions, seniors from coal-mining, farm, or other manual backgrounds all manifest similar levels of college expectation.

As to migration plans (Table 4), although young people from the subsistence farming area are somewhat more likely to anticipate moving away from the home area than young people from the mining area, both regions are characterized by extremely high prospective out-migration rates. Furthermore, within each region, upper-class girls are more likely to anticipate leaving the region than girls from blue-collar or farm families. For boys, however, no clear intraregional pattern emerges.

To gain better insight into the meaning of and, linkages between, educational and migration plans, these two career "decisions" are combined into an interactive typology (Table 5). For the subsistence farming area, college aspirations are clearly associated with plans to leave the home area (Table 5). It appears that many of these Appalachian young people may be quite aware that a college education is of marginal utility in this economically depressed region.

We find a somewhat different pattern for seniors in the coal region, however. Plans for higher education are not as closely associated with migration expectations. Apparently, a college education is no longer seen solely as a "ticket" out of the area. Rather, college credentials may be viewed as an asset in the search for employment in the coal area.

In the next two sections we attempt to further specify the nature of career tracking for Appalachian youth by introducing local residential place and grades as conditional variables in the relationship between father's occupational status and career plans.

Local Community Context and Career Plans

As noted in the introduction, one possible source of variation in the search for regional effects is local community context. In general, boys living in the larger towns in both the coal and subsistence farming regions are more likely to plan on college than their more rural peers (Table 6). The relationship is negligible only among boys from upper-status homes in the subsistence farming area.

For girls, local residence place emerges as a conditional variable in both regions among seniors from nonmanual families. Living in the more remote and isolated sectors of Appalachia seems to depress the educational ambitions of upper-status girls. For girls from manual-worker, farm and coal families, however, local community context appears not to be an important determinant of college plans.

Additionally, seniors from blue collar/non-mining homes living in the larger towns of the coal-mining region are more inclined to pursue a college education than their counterparts from mining family backgrounds. To account for this; one must consider that, although life styles in the mountain hollows tend to be homogeneous with regard to occupation and standard of living, in the more urban sectors of Appalachia blue collar/non-coal youth tend to be less isolated, both socially and residentially, from many upper-status role models and life styles.

Table 5. Interactive Typology of Percentage of Appalachian Youth Planning to go to College and Percentage Planning to Migrate, by Father's Occupational Status, Region of Residence and Sex

Father's Occupational Status	Subsistence Farming Region		Coal Mining Region	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nonmanual (Professional/ White Collar)				
Planning on College and Migration	39.0	55.3	36.7	45.3
Planning on College but not Migration	24.4	----	24.0	17.9
Not Planning on College but on Migration	29.3	34.2	20.8	34.0
Not Planning on College and not on Migration	7.3	10.5	18.5	2.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Manual (Blue Collar non-coal/nonfarm)				
Planning on College and Migration	14.1	28.1	16.4	18.6
Planning on College but not on Migration	5.2	8.3	14.8	15.6
Not Planning on College but on Migration	43.7	44.3	44.2	50.2
Not Planning on College and not on Migration	27.0	19.3	24.6	15.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Coal Miner (Coal-mining region only) or Farmer (Farming region only)				
Planning on College and Migration	20.5	33.0	17.8	16.4
Planning on College but not on Migration	9.8	5.7	13.9	12.1
Not Planning on College but on Migration	42.9	47.2	48.0	46.6
Not Planning on College and not on Migration	26.8	14.1	20.3	21.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. Percentage of Appalachian Youth Planning to go to College, By Father's Occupational Status, Local Residence Place, Region of Residence and Sex

Father's Occupational Status	Subsistence Farming Region		Coal Mining Region	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
NonManual (Professional/ White Collar)				
Rural Residence	60.0	50.0	42.9	52.3
Non-Rural Residence	66.7	70.0	73.1	70.5
(Q)	(.14)*	(.40)*	(.56)	(.37)*
Manual (Blue Collar non-Coal/Nonfarm)				
Rural Residence	25.2	35.8	22.6	32.3
Non-Rural Residence	60.0	37.0	58.6	36.4
(Q)	(.63)	(.03)*	(.66)	(.08)*
Coal Miner (Coal-mining region only) or Farmer (Farming region only)				
Rural Residence	30.0	39.2	27.9	28.5
Non-Rural Residence	50.0	33.3	41.8	27.5
(Q)	(.40)*	(.00)*	(.30)*	(-.03)*

*Chi Square Coefficients not significant at .05 level

Looking at migration plans (Table 7), we find that seniors in both areas manifest a very high propensity to migrate. In all subgroups more than half expect to migrate, and with the exception of a few subgroupings of boys, two-thirds or more project migration. The regional out-migration rate is generally so high that neither father's occupational background nor local residence place distinctions are useful indicants of a youngster's likelihood to migrate.

Two findings from Table 7 merit further note. First, although the outmigration rate is high among all young people from blue collar homes, including those from coal-mining and farm families, seniors from the larger towns in the mining region are more likely to move away than their more rural counterparts. It is probable that, compared with young people reared in the more remote rural hollows and coal camps of Appalachia, non-rural youth have wider contact with and more knowledge of a diversity of occupational and life styles and, consequently, may be more aware of the career possibilities and opportunities that exist outside the region.

Secondly, upper-status boys from the coal area and upper-status town boys from the subsistence farming area are more inclined to remain in the home region after high school graduation than the other subpopulations. Perhaps access to rewarding and stimulating occupational careers in economically depressed areas such as Appalachia is monopolized by young people from higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

Academic Performance Factor

Academic performance in school is highly correlated with college expectations in both Appalachian regions (Table 8). Correlation coefficients range from .64 for blue collar/non-coal boys in the coal region to .92 for boys from nonmanual backgrounds in the coal region. These correlations, however, mask interesting and important percentage differences among the subpopulations.

Regardless of region, about 90% of the high-achieving senior boys from upper-status families expect to go on to college (Table 8). On the other hand, no more than 61% of high-achieving boys from manual-worker families or farm families plan on college. Even among the low achievers, although the percentage differences are not as great, boys from white-collar homes are significantly more likely to plan on college than any subpopulation of manual-background boys. Clearly, then, upper-status boys are more likely to plan on going to college, regardless of their academic performance.

For girls, especially among lower-status subpopulations, grades are somewhat less important so far as the intention to go to college is concerned. Even among highly qualified girls from the blue collar/farm/mining strata less than 50% expect to go on for further academic education (Table 8). Among girls from nonmanual families, however, nearly three-fourths of those with good grades expect to go to college. Furthermore, regional circumstances seem to condition the expectation patterns of low-achieving upper-status girls. Only 9.1% of these girls from the subsistence farming area plan on college compared with 40% in the coal-mining area.

Table 7. Percentage of Appalachian Youth Planning to Migrate by Father's Occupational Status, Local Residence Place, Region of Residence and Sex

Father's Occupational Status	Subsistence Farming Region		Coal Mining Region	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nonmanual (Professional/ White Collar)				
Rural Residence	80.0	89.3	57.1	77.3
Non-Rural Residence	57.1	90.0	57.1	80.3
(Q)	(-.50)*	(-.04)*	(.01)*	(.09)*
Manual (Blue Collar non-Coal/Nonfarm)				
Rural Residence	65.9	73.4	58.1	63.1
Non-Rural Residence	80.0	66.7	69.0	81.8
(Q)	(.34)*	(-.18)*	(.23)*	(.45)*
Coal Miner (Coal-mining region only) or Farmer (Farming region only)				
Rural Residence	63.6	79.4	62.6	62.9
Non-Rural Residence	50.0	88.9	74.5	74.5
(Q)	(-.27)*	(.35)*	(.27)*	(.26)*

*Chi Square Coefficient not significant at .05 level

Table 8. Percentage of Appalachian Youth Planning to go to College by Father's Occupational Status, Grades, Region of Residence and Sex

Father's Occupational Status	Subsistence Farming Region		Coal Mining Region	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nonmanual (Professional/ White Collar)				
High Grades	90.9	74.1	89.6	73.1
Low Grades	31.6	9.1	25.0	40.0
(Q)	(.91)	(.93)	(.92)	(.60)
Manual (Blue Collar non-Coal/Nonfarm)				
High Grades	54.3	46.0	52.1	43.5
Low Grades	14.3	19.6	18.8	15.9
(Q)	(.75)	(.56)	(.64)	(.60)
Coal Miner (Coal-mining region only) or Farmer (Farming region only)				
High Grades	61.0	47.6	57.5	36.4
Low Grades	13.8	26.2	16.2	17.1
(Q)	(.81)	(.44)	(.74)	(.47)

Thus, grades appear to be important structuring mechanisms on the path toward college for all subpopulations of Appalachian youth. In general, however, boys and young people from upper-status homes anticipate going on to college more often than girls and similarly qualified young people from blue collar/farm/mining families.

Appalachian and Non-Appalachian Career Plan Configurations

To probe more fully the structuring of ambition within Appalachia, three determinants of educational plans (social class origin, grades and local residence place) are combined into a "career plan configuration." Comparable data from the non-Appalachian study areas in Central and Western Kentucky are introduced to elaborate on the importance and meaning of regional context in career-plan formation. In this phase of the analysis all blue collar families, including coal mining and farming, are categorized as "manual."

Examination of the career plan configurations in four regions (Table 9) reveals some interesting regional "specifications" as well as some "universal" patterns in the educational ambitions of our study populations. For example, neither regional setting nor local residence place affects the educational plans of academically superior upper-status boys. Cross-regionally, over 75 percent of these boys expect to go to college. Another regionally consistent finding, for boys, is the dampening effect of a low grade standing and/or a low socioeconomic background on educational ambitions. In other words, boys from blue-collar families and/or boys with poor academic records are less likely to pursue a college education than are boys from higher social class thresholds and/or high academic standing.

Evidence of regional variations in career-plan configurations for boys, however, is also present in Table 9. The effect of local community context (i.e., rural/non-rural) on educational plans, for example, varies by region. Fewer boys in the rural sector of both Appalachian regions manifest ambitions for higher education compared with the rural areas of Western Kentucky, and, to a lesser extent, Central Kentucky. This relationship is especially apparent among boys who perform poorly in school.

For girls, regional effects are apparent in all subpopulations except upper-status non-rural girls who perform well in school. As evident in Table 9, this cohort displays remarkably similar educational ambitions. Among most other sub-classifications, however, senior girls from the coal mining and subsistence farming areas of Appalachia exhibited lower ambitions than their peers from the commercial farming region in Central Kentucky or in the industrialized region in Western Kentucky.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Focussing primarily on the career-choosing patterns of high school seniors from the coal-mining and subsistence farming areas of Appalachia and using data from two non-Appalachian areas for comparative purposes, the research reported here deals with the interrelated influences of father's occupational status, scholastic performance, and local residential context on the educational and migration plans of high school seniors. In general,

Table 9. Percentage of Appalachian Youth Planning to go to College by Father's Occupational Status, Grades, Local Residence Place, Sex and Region of Residence

Father's Status---- Grades---------- Residence----------	Nonmanual High Nonrural	Nonmanual High Rural	Nonmanual Low Nonrural	Nonmanual Low Rural	Manual High Nonrural	Manual High Rural	Manual Low Nonrural	Manual Low Rural
Boys								
Western Kentucky	86.4	89.5	72.2	66.7	84.0	70.2	39.1	36.9
Central Kentucky	87.5	75.0	70.8	30.8	54.5	62.5	25.0	19.0
Coal Region	96.9	75.0	31.6	18.8	38.3	48.8	31.1	12.5
Subsistence Farming Region	83.3	81.3	57.1	25.0	100.0	54.1	20.0	12.3
Girls								
Western Kentucky	76.7	85.2	66.7	40.0	61.8	59.7	33.3	19.3
Central Kentucky	80.4	54.5	58.3	----	46.9	41.9	14.3	10.0
Coal Region	85.4	58.3	44.4	28.6	38.3	39.0	22.2	23.1
Subsistence Farming Region	70.0	69.2	----	10.0	47.8	46.2	18.2	10.0

compared with a commercial farming area in Central Kentucky and an industrialized area in Western Kentucky, the "opportunity structure" and the balance between educational and work opportunities in the two Appalachian areas surveyed here do not seem conducive to upward social mobility. Marginal economic structures and the lack of numerous and varied positive role models in a rural poverty environment appear to dampen the educational aspirations and expectations of all but the most talented, ambitious, and relatively well-off youth.

Compared with their upper-status counterparts, Appalachian seniors from blue-collar or farm families are in an especially disadvantageous position in planning and implementing occupational and educational career goals. They have limited access to the material and nonmaterial (e.g., motivational, normative, etc.) resources that facilitate high educational attainment. Furthermore, their chances of securing fulfilling and financially rewarding unskilled or semi-skilled employment in the home region are indeed slim. Given the structuring of educational and work opportunities for lower-status Appalachian youth, it is to be expected that a large proportion of these young people plan to leave the home area in search of work.

Furthermore, lower-class Appalachian girls seem to perceive even less chance than boys of achieving rewarding careers or satisfying and self-fulfilling life-styles in the home region. Not surprisingly, projected out-migration rates are higher for girls than boys.

Although commonalities in the situational circumstances and career-plan configurations exist between the subsistence farming area and the coal-mining region, interesting and important cross-regional differences are also evident. For example, although both areas are characterized by very high projected out-migration rates, especially when compared to Western and Central Kentucky, somewhat fewer seniors from the coal-mining region anticipate moving away from the home area than do seniors from the subsistence farming region. It appears that the somewhat more prosperous economic conditions in the coal mining area, along with a more diversified industrial and occupational system, dampen the perceived need for immediate migration after high school.

In both regions, however, the distribution and allocation of occupational opportunities seems linked to a youngster's position in the regional social structure. Employment chances seem to filter down through the stratification system. Boys from upper-status families living in the larger towns of Appalachia probably have first choice among available jobs. Hence, propensity to migrate among these subpopulations is relatively lower. As the system opens up, additional opportunities may be diffused to other subpopulations. For example, upper-class boys living in the rural sectors of the coal area are significantly <u>less</u> likely to migrate than their subsistence farming counterparts. It is the blue-collar and farm-reared youth who are <u>most</u> hurt in a poverty environment. These youth are ranked at the bottom of an unequal system of rewards and opportunities and are thus forced to leave the home region, though often ill-equipped, to compete for jobs in more prosperous areas.

Additionally, Appalachian seniors from coal-mining, farming and blue-collar non-coal/non-farm families tend to manifest similar patterns of career ambition. Some variations among young people from lower-status backgrounds, however, were evidenced. Specifically, seniors from coal-mining families living in the larger towns of the mining area have lower educational plans on the average than their peers from non-mining/blue-collar homes. As previously suggested, these differences may be attributable to patterns of residential segregation and to the fact that coal-mining families have little interactional linkage to other manual worker families in the cities and towns. For the non-rural coal-mining families, then, living in occupationally homogeneous neighborhoods of the towns and the influence of low occupational models perpetuate lower educational ambitions, limit access to non-coal occupational opportunities and increase the likelihood of out-migration.

In general, our findings suggest that although the mining and subsistence farming areas have different socioeconomic bases, their "opportunity structures" (with respect to young people) are very similar, and, consequently, career planning configurations are similar. Furthermore, using data from two relatively prosperous non-Appalachian areas in Kentucky as a basis of comparison, our findings indicate that living in a rural/poverty environment such as Appalachia has a dual effect on the process of career development: 1) it lowers college ambition among all but the most academically talented (those with high grades) and economically advantaged (nonmanual/urban) young people; 2) it amplifies propensity to migrate among all subpopulations that have limited access to job opportunities in the home region (manual/rural/girls).

The structuring of career decisions such as educational and migration plans is dependent not only on individual achievement and background, but also on the needs and socioeconomic character of the immediate regional environment. In other words, the relative importance of social status origin and scholastic rank in school as determinants of career plans is shaped by conditions unique to a given region. The larger regional context provides a framework of alternatives, a framework that encourages or discourages individual orientations.

Patterns of behavior, then, can be conceived as being affected by influences at two social levels: the individual (i.e., social status origin, academic achievement, etc) and the contextual (i.e., community, region, society, etc.). The interrelationship of factors and conditions at both levels helps to delimit the range and scope of an individual's opportunities and ultimately his life achievements. Only when we understand the intricate and complex interaction between social structure and social context can we hope to formulate theoretically sophisticated and universally valid career plan models and reform and restructure, on a more equitable basis, the allocation of life chances among all rural youth.

PROGRAM IMPLICATIONS

Although related to the needs of the larger national society, each of the regions examined in this report is characterized by somewhat unique and particular socioeconomic circumstances and institutional configurations. These circumstances and configurations are representative or indicative of "opportunity structures" which can facilitate or inhibit a young person's career ambitions and life chances.

From a practical standpoint, educational and developmental programs aimed at helping young people make intelligent career decisions must reckon with, and be tailored to, the social conditions of the home region. Educational administrators, guidance counselors, and other school officials should institute programs and curricula that are sensitive to the intra-regional balance between educational and work opportunities and that prepare young people for satisfying and financially rewarding work careers in the larger society.

For example, vocational education programs organized to meet regional and/or national labor market needs should be emphasized. Students must be made aware of, and trained in, the skills that are readily transferrable to available jobs. Too often vocational offerings exist in fields with limited employment possibilities. Along this line, it is important that state and federal funds for vocational education be equitably distributed on an interregional basis.

Furthermore, planning at the regional level that coordinates and supplements the efforts of state and local authorities is clearly needed. Young people from depressed or isolated rural areas such as Appalachia must obtain the knowledge and skills that allow them to compete on a par with young people from other more affluent areas.

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